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THESIS:

GENDER-BASED PATTERNS OF
DISTRIBUTION OF POWER:
MYTH OR MARCHEN?

LINDA LEE GRUENBAUM

1988

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Gender-based Patterns of Distribution of Power: Myth or Märchen?

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This study involved archival research in Germany, personal interviews with village residents and questionnaires distributed to approximately 10% of the village population. The name of the village and names of persons interviewed have been changed to protect all concerned. This information is on file with the German Literature Department, Cornell University. Because of research constraints, observations should be accepted as only initial observations regarding further in-depth archival research and interviewing.

GENDER-BASED PATTERNS OF DISTRIBUTION OF POWER:

MYTH OR MÄRCHEN?

A Thesis

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School

of Cornell University

in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

by

Linda Lee Gruenbaum

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ABSTRACT

This project attempts a comparison of gender-based patterns of distribution of power between a French and a German village. Research was already available on a French village--"Grand Frault." I was to research a German village. The village, "Lothringen," was selected because it was located in the Saar, which had been intermittently under French or German control. Both villages are located in or on the border of historical Lothringen (Lorraine). Both societies are predominantly Catholic. Both villages are primarily agricultural, although "Lothringen" industrialized early in the twentieth century while "Grand Frault" is industrializing now. These similarities pointed to a theme suggested by Susan Carol Rogers--that culture areas rather than political boundaries "might prove to be a useful basis for a predictive typology of gender systems."¹

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¹Susan Carol Rogers, "Gender in Southwestern France: The Myth of Male Dominance Revisited," *Anthropology* IX (1985).

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

CPT Linda L. Gruenbaum has written this thesis as partial completion of her Master of Arts Degree, in preparation for assignment as a Foreign Area Officer--Western Europe, United States Army.

She received her Bachelor of Arts Degree in History in 1971 from the University of California, Los Angeles.

To Michael

It is my hope that you will also seek
to understand and appreciate other cultures.

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I would like to express my deep gratitude to the residents of "Lothringen." Without their warm reception and assistance, this project would not have been possible.

Special thanks go also to Families Schmidt, Schwinn, Winter, Napp, Hoffman, Schmitting and Kissel, whose hospitality and willingness to give their time, certainly eased my path.

I am particularly indebted to Herr Martin Schmitting for over twenty hours of interviewing, tracing Berus' history; to Herr Franz Kissel, Mayor of Berus, whose keen interest in the village's history and welfare were contagiously transmitted to me; and to Herr Rudi Valentin who faithfully walked the streets with me, rescued my often grotesque efforts at speaking the language, and who often bridged the cultural gap.

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I wish to thank Susan Carol Rogers, John Weiss and Laurence Wylie, who, one way or another, introduced me to this subject.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Who exercises power and authority within the German family and community? What is the position of women within this scheme? Much of what is written defines the German family as patriarchal and authoritarian. This definition confines women to the private domains of "Kirche, Küche und Kinder," denying them any meaningful power or authority over their lives or the public domain--community. Bertram Schaffner, writing about the German family up to 1946 says:

The father is omnipotent, omniscient and omnipresent, as far as this is possible for a human being. He is the source of all authority, all the security and all the wisdom that his children expect to receive. Every other member of the family has lower status and lesser right than his.¹

This statement misrepresents reality. Women have played an active role--have exercised power and authority--in both the private and public domains, at least since the end of the nineteenth century when the men started leaving the villages to seek employment in industry. Authoritarian fathers did exist. "Patriarchal" and "authoritarian" could well have described family life in many communities, particularly in the predominantly agricultural areas. However, my research and observations in a village in the Saar suggest a different dynamic--"Kirche, Küche und Kinder" often extended to community; private and public domains overlapped with women serving as the link between the two.

¹Bertram Schaffner, M.D., Fatherland (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948), 15.

The first objective of this thesis is to demonstrate the narrowness of the "kirche, küche, kinder" concept. The second objective is to suggest that "Kirche, Küche und Kinder" might mask a myth--a myth of male dominance perpetuated by women to achieve balance and harmony in their lives and the life of the whole community. The final objective follows from the second. I wish to investigate a theme in Susan Carol Rogers' studies on French village life--that culture areas rather than political boundaries "might prove to be a useful basis for a predictive typology of gender systems."²

* * * * *

Whether scholars bring God or other topical experts to bear on the subject, a patriarchal and authoritarian German family is often assumed, even offered as an explanation for the "success" of National Socialism and all it entailed. Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl, a German social geographer, writing about German patriarchy in 1855, said:

In creating male and female, our Lord has put inequality and dependence as a fundamental condition of all human evolution. In the family, the subordination of the female personality under the male is directly connected with the making of man and out of this subordination has grown the unequal articulation of civil and political society.³

Rene König, attempting to couple this attitude to the historical train, explains the existence of the authoritarian father as:

²Susan Carol Rogers, "Gender in Southwestern France: The Myth of Male Dominance Revisited," Anthropology IX (1985): 64.

³Wilhelm Heinrich Riehl, Die Naturgeschichte des Volkes als Grundlage einer deutschen Sozialpolitik (Stuttgart und Augsburg, 1855), 3.

patriarchalism by counterthrust--paternal authority, failing to assert itself in social and political matters, withdrew from the public domain into the private domain after the defeat of the German bourgeoisie in 1848.⁴

Bertram Schaffner, writing in 1946 and attempting to combine concepts of anthropology and psychiatry in approaching an understanding of German authoritarianism says:

The position of the German mother, in contrast to that in some other cultures, is secondary in the family. This is due to two chief factors: her subjugation to the undisputed authority of the father, and her abandonment of those qualities associated with "femininity" which would make her a colorful, self-reliant personality instead of an insecure passive drudge. She is completely dependent on her husband.⁵

Geoff Eley suggests that this predisposition toward describing German history in terms of "authoritarian continuities begs more questions than it resolves."⁶ Likewise, describing the German family as authoritarian and patriarchal misses the target. In support of this statement and in contrast to the pro-authoritarians, David Rodnick, a Yale anthropologist, writes:

Any patriarchal pattern that may have existed in German protestant families has become obsolete; we found no trace of it. The trend is toward greater equality and the sharing of ideals by husbands and wives.⁷

⁴Rene König, "Family and Authority: The German Father in 1955," Sociological Review 1 (1955), 112.

⁵Bertram Schaffner, M.D., Fatherland (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948), 34.

⁶Geoff Eley, From Unification to Nazism (Boston: Allen and Unwin, 1986), 11-12.

⁷David Rodnick, Postwar Germans (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948), 123.

Rene König, a German anthropologist, supports this position. His field study on the prevalence of authoritarianism in families in a section of the Köln population in the 1950s, yielded these results:

Patriarchalism	1 case
Preponderance of the husband	39 cases
Balance (companionship)	116 cases
Preponderance of the wife	65 cases
Matriarchalism	1 case
Others	12 cases

König concludes: "neither husband nor wife is preponderant in more than half the cases."⁸

While Riehl might see patriarchalism and authoritarianism in Adam and Eve terms and Rodnick and König reject defining German families in this way, Robert Lowie, a Stanford University anthropologist, offers us an alternate and comparative perspective. Patriarchalism and authoritarianism are not peculiar to rural or urban areas in Germany but, are perhaps characteristic of Western Europe. These attitudes must be sought across national boundaries--within class, denominational or even regional differences.⁹ One might compare woman's status in France with that in Germany in the nineteenth century. In both countries, women were disenfranchised; their right to own or dispose of property was minimal; the husband was the

⁸Rene König, "Family and Authority: The German Father in 1955," Sociological Review 1 (1955), 122. See Appendix D for summary of questionnaire used in study.

⁹Robert H. Lowie, Toward Understanding Germany (Chicago, 1954), 198-202.

provider, the head of the household; women took care of the house and children.¹⁰ "Kirche, Küche und Kinder" applied equally in both countries. Lowie aptly points out,

The legal and the actual status of women are distinct phenomena. Though the former doubtless may affect the latter and in a sense reflects it, what is crucial in the intimate relationships within the home is the personality of the individuals concerned. Accordingly, in every civilization, patriarchal or otherwise, there have been tyrannical as well as henpecked husbands, termagant as well as submissive wives, and also partners displaying mutual devotion without dominance on either side.¹¹

Lowie's argument complements Susan Carol Rogers' suggestion that culture areas might prove a useful springboard for gender system research. I have selected "Lothringen," a village in the Saar on the eastern fringe of the Lorraine, to follow Lowie's suggestion and to test some gender system observations made by Rogers about the myth of male dominance.¹² Her observations on female/male interaction in two French villages sparked my curiosity. "Ste Foy," situated in southwestern France, presents a hierarchical, male dominant society. In contrast, "Grand Frault," situated in northeastern France on the western fringe of the Lorraine, presents a society in which men appear to be dominant. This perceived dominance is only a myth perpetuated to mask a fairly egalitarian society. I presumed that community life in "Lothringen" might resemble that presented in "Grand

¹⁰Hubbard, William H., Familiengeschichte (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1983), 50-54, 185-198.

¹¹Robert H. Lowie, Toward Understanding Germany (Chicago, 1954), 198-202.

¹²Susan Carol Rogers, "Female Forms of Power and the Myth of Male Dominance: A Model of Female/Male Interaction in Peasant Society," American Ethnologist 2 (1975), 727-756 and "Gender in Southwestern France: The Myth of Male Dominance Revisited," Anthropology 18, 1985, 65-86.

Frault" because both are situated in Lorraine and share a somewhat similar history. More recently, the Saar was under French political administration from 1918 to 1935 and again, from 1945 until 1957.

CHAPTER 2

"LOTHRINGEN"

From a distance, the area surrounding "Lothringen" is indistinguishable from just about any area in this part of West Germany or northeastern France--small clustered settlements surrounded by fields, woods and rolling hills. Construction of the roads and the posts along the roadside are often the only indication of whether one is in France or Germany. The occasional directional sign might verify location although one cannot always tell by town names. Creutzwald, Voelfing, Oberdorff are French villages. One cannot always tell by license plates either. Many French-licensed cars drive through the area. However, the population is decidedly German, voting overwhelmingly for German integration in both 1935 and 1955, despite strong French influence punctuated by periods of political administration after both World Wars I and II.¹³

Despite geopolitical conflicts between the French and various Germanic principalities over the centuries, life in the village has carried on continuously since the 1200s.¹⁴ The inhabitants are a fairly homogeneous population. Even after World War II, "Lothringen" was not infiltrated by migration of minorities or Germans evacuated from the east, due primarily to the Saar's status under French occupation. A 1970 census shows that only 52

¹³"Saarstatut wurde abgelehnt wahlbeteiligung," Saarbrücker Zeitung, 24 October 1955, Sec. A, p. 2 and Martin Schmitting, personal interview, 15 August 1987.

¹⁴Berus (Kirchheimbolanden, West Germany: 1965), 40-55.

out of the 2,090 population were "other than German."¹⁵ Many families can trace their family history in the village back before 1600. Despite the lure of the urban mystique, community life today in "Lothringen" is strong, bound together by family ties, customs, traditions and common experiences.

However, "Lothringen" has always been a border town. Like other parts of the Saar, it shares more than a border and history with the French. The village was never favored with ideal agricultural conditions. Located as it is on top of a hill, "Lothringen" has never prospered by marketing agricultural products. The community has produced primarily for household and community consumption. In fact, the average size of holding in the Saar in the late nineteenth century was around 5 hectares.¹⁶ According to a 1939 census, there were only 5 holdings of between 10 and 20 hectares, 6 holdings of between 5 and 10 hectares, and 149 holdings of 0.5 to 5 hectares.¹⁷

In addition to geographic limitations, laws have, since implementation of the Napoleonic Code, mandated equal inheritance among siblings. Egalitarian inheritance resulted in splitting up agricultural holdings, further reducing size and output to the point where tracts of land were tilled primarily for family subsistence. Even though equal inheritance often resulted in both partners bringing land into a marriage, the plots were minuscule and scattered, only adding field time to the production process.¹⁸

¹⁵Saarland. Statistisches Amt des Saarlandes. Gemeindeblatt der Volkszählung 1970 (Saarbrücken, West Germany, 1970), 1.

¹⁶Trevor Wild, Urban and Rural Change in West Germany (New Jersey: Barnes and Noble, 1983), 209-211.

¹⁷Statistik des Deutschen Reichs. Volks-, Berufs- und Betriebszählung vom 17. Mai 1939, Heft 10 (Saarbrücken, West Germany, 1939), 10/42.

¹⁸Herr G, personal interview, 19 August 1987.

Industrialization paralleled declining agricultural productivity, drawing increasing numbers from the fields. "Lothringen" is located between the mining district of the Saar and the coal mines in eastern France. Additionally, the strassenbahn connecting Saarlouis to the Creutzwald mining district in France ran only 3.5 km from the village. Consequently, by the early twentieth century, approximately two-thirds of its Bergeleute (mine workers) worked in French mines. The remaining one-third worked in Saar mines.¹⁹ This situation started to change after Hitler closed the Saar borders in 1935. Later, in the mid-1950s, the Saar opted for integration into West Germany. The mining industry coincidentally slowed down. Few residents work in the French mining industry today.

This transition from agriculture to industry affected community life. After the turn of the century, mineworkers spent the working week away from home. Because of distances travelled, lack of dependable transportation systems, and workhours in the mines, most workers lived in boarding houses from Mondays through Fridays. This left the community life and management of the households in the hands of the women.²⁰ Their responsibilities ranged from household matters to child-rearing to tending the fields. Although the wife dutifully "reported" the week's activities to her husband upon his return over the weekend, the women effectively "ran the show."²¹ However, in the men's minds, they still ruled. Even construing this as a typical authoritarian German family situation, it is clear that men and

¹⁹Saarland. Statistisches Amt des Saarlandes, Gemeinde- und Ortslexikon-Lieferung (Saarbrücken, West Germany, 1956), 9.

²⁰Ibid., and Frau B, personal interview, 20 August 1987.

²¹Frau B, personal interview, 20 August 1987 and Frau A, personal interview, 19 August 1987.

women might have very different views of authority and power within the family and community.

The last few kilometers to "Lothringen" marked by the standard yellow and black directional sign, indicating "2 kilometers" to the left, take you up a wooded hill, around a curve to the base of the village. A food shop, a little bank, a florist shop and an old cemetery mark the entrance to the older section of the village. Several streets radiate off this juncture--to the left, Brunnenstrasse, location of the earlier public washing place, ahead and branching to the left and right of the old cemetery, Orannastrasse and Ittersdorfer. Orannastrasse goes up the hill toward the European monument and the St. Oranna Chapel, while Ittersdorfer goes on over the hills to a neighboring village. To the right of the village base is An der Port--the entrance to the oldest part of the village--Kirchenstrasse and "Hintergasse." Remnants of the 13th century village wall and fortress still stand on the left of An der Port.

On the first visit to the village, the only people visible are three men sitting on an old bench under a tree in front of the cemetery with a clear view of anyone entering or leaving the village, one or two older women out sweeping sidewalks and two young mothers pushing baby carriages. It is a picture of a sleepy, little suburban village--a Saturday afternoon and everyone off doing things in a nearby town. But, not quite!

One feels that the town is not deserted; that the residents are nearby. However, we see what we outsiders are supposed to see--a pretty, quiet village--neat houses, tidy gardens. As Utz Jeggle observes in his study on another German village, the village has two faces, two personalities.²² One

²²Utz Jeggle, Kiebingin - eine Heimat-geschichte (Tübingen, 1977) and "The Rules of the Village," in The German Peasantry, edited and translated by Richard J. Evans (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986), 268.

is shown to the outside world; the other regulates internal life within the community. Jeggle found continuous threads between past and present, between the two personalities, discovering that

binding forces in village life did not draw their energy from the present but from the past, and that the forces of the past continued to exist beneath the surface of the present that was to some extent cryptic, but was still of the greatest importance for the architecture of the village's present social structure.²³

And so it is in "Lothringen." One gets a sense of time and of continuity and harmony through the contrasts:

---- the old men on the bench and the young mothers walking their babies;

---- the old cemetery and the adjacent food shop;

---- in the cemetery itself, the cold marble grave markers warmed by flowering shrubs and small trees frequently tended by the women of the family;

---- the teenagers in their modern attire--sweatpants, sport shoes, baggy shirts, side-by-side on the village sidewalk with the chimney sweep, in his traditional black garb;

---- or older women, still wearing their "housekeeping over-aprons" out sweeping the sidewalks, and, a younger woman, who occasionally performs the same task, but also serves as an active, elected member of the Gemeinderat.

What factors have accounted for this continuous thread? What factors have brought these people together to form and maintain a viable community? Some would say the community has been "blessed" with strong leadership--and I would agree--the strong but often silent leadership of the women of the village. They have been a major factor in perpetuating village life. Women

²³Ibid., 269.

have achieved this not in the public domain as leaders or primary bread-winners, but through control of the private domain--in their more or less invisible roles as wives and mothers, and through manipulation of their menfolk in the public domain. Women manipulate their menfolk because of a perceived need to nurture the "myth of male dominance" in order to maintain harmony within the community and thus insure continuity and survival of the whole community.

CHAPTER 3

MALE DOMINANCE--MYTH OR MÄRCHEN?

Male dominance is a myth in "Lothringen." One cannot today, anymore than one could have 80 years ago, describe gender roles as if they could be punched out with little gingerbread boy and girl bakeforms--15 minutes or so in the oven, and out pops a little haushaltvorstand--the head of the household and leader in the community, and his little frau. A closer look might reveal a blurring of shapes, a spilling over at the edges. Official roles might be easily defined by the borders of the bakeform. But what about the spillover?

As one resident in the village explained,

The man is and has always been the head of the household. Even today when women have equal rights, the man is the head of the household.²⁴

When asked to translate this into everyday activity, she went on to say:

I am being a diplomat! Yes, the man is, after the law, the head of the household, but practically, that is another story. Oh dear God! That is everywhere! Unless there is a big problem at home, the man is too busy with other things. My husband brought the money home--I took care of the house and family. It was so with my mother. It is the same with my daughter.²⁵

What "things" are the men busy doing? Another resident responded:

²⁴Frau A, personal interview, 19 August 1987.

²⁵Ibid.

Work! In earlier days, the hours were long and it took hours to travel back and forth from work. Even today, he doesn't get involved with household activities. He works in the garden or repairs the house. I take care of the budget. Of course, I consult him on major expenses. When the children were young, and he was not busy, he spent time with them.²⁶

Her husband, coming in during the middle of the interview, concurred saying:

When we married, I told my wife that I, as the head of the household, would make all the important decisions and she the smaller. (pause)

To this day, there has not been an important decision.²⁷

Another resident pointed out that this is universal. There were some families where the women are "under the thumb" of their husbands. "Es gibt kein norm!"

Frau A explained some of the differences through the generations. She was born in the mid-1920s, was married towards the end of the war, and now takes care of the house and grandchildren for a daughter and son-in-law. She cannot recall any specific events from her childhood concerning the relationship between grandfather and grandmother and her own mother and father, except that household relationships appeared more formal and distant. Work was more difficult and time-consuming.

Of course, things are easier for the young wives today. They have more time. Earlier we did not have all the appliances that we have today.²⁸

²⁶Frau B and Frau C, personal interview, 20 August 1987.

²⁷Herr B, personal interview, 20 August 1987. "Meine Frau und ich haben uns geeignet daß sie die kleinen Sachen entscheidet und ich die wichtigen . . . aber bis heute, hatten wir nichts wichtiges."

²⁸Frau A, personal interview, 19 August 1987.

Everything was done by hand. The wash could be an all-day affair before women had washing machines. Water had to be cooked in great pots. The clothes, including bedsheets, had to be scrubbed and beaten with brushes--the men's work clothes in particular. Washing was done on Mondays and "Lothringen" had its public washing place (die Brunnen) where the women would come to scrub and rinse their laundry. In addition to doing their wash, women shared information. Any subject was apt to be discussed--the topics ranging from family to household problems to community activities.

Ironing and housecleaning were equally tedious tasks. Wood floors had to be cleaned with metal brushes--one could do a decent job only on one's hands and knees. Cleaning windows and washing curtains would often take two or three days. Nor was ironing a simple task. Many items were starched, and nothing was permanent press. In addition to the household chores, women were responsible for farming and gardening. Care of the children, including any issues or problems related to education--both secular and religious--also required daily attention.

So much for Küche und Kinder. What about Kirche? Although the influence of the church on the household and community has dwindled, particularly since World War II, the Church still plays a significant role in family and community life. Residents in "Lothringen" in particular, and the Saar in general, are predominantly Catholic. 99% of the population in

1859²⁹ was Catholic; 98.9% in 1951,³⁰ and 93% in 1970.³¹ The village has two churches, both Catholic.

Like other Catholic communities, two domains exist within the church--the public, dominated by the priests, and the private, handled primarily through the women. Church attendance, religious education, observance of religious holidays and festivals, cleaning and preparation of the Church for services have always been the woman's domain. What is significant about the religious heritage and religious matters within the community is the presence of these two domains--the perceived dominant role of the priests and Catholic dogma, and the real day-to-day efforts of the women, who work to present the priest and the church to the community. If you want to find out what is going on within the church community ask someone in the Frauengemeinschaft (Catholic women's organization).

In addition to the actual work done within the church, the Frauengemeinschaft provides women an opportunity for coming together--formally and informally. Several important religious days are celebrated as community activities--Kermis, St. Martin's trek and Fastnacht. While planning for these activities is shared, most residents agree that the women traditionally do the majority of the organizing and the work.

While church attendance has declined, the traditional events leading up to full membership within the Catholic family--baptisms, First Communion,

²⁹Amtsblättern der König. Preußischen Regierung zu Trier (1816-1919) and A. Delges, "Die einzelnen Bürgermeistereien," "Die Bevölkerungsbewegung in den Gemeinden," Heimat Jahrbuch des Landkreises Saarlouis (1966), 139, 188.

³⁰Saarland Statistischen Amt des Saarlandes, Tabellenteil zum Gemeinde- und Ortslexikon, Nr. 16 (Saarbrücken, West Germany, 1955), 10.

³¹Saarland. Statistischen Amt des Saarlandes. Gemeindeblatt der Volkszählung, 1970 (Saarbrücken, West Germany, 1970), 3.

Confirmation, weddings--are still observed. These events provide further opportunity for the women to get together for cleaning, cooking, baking, and flower arranging. These opportunities, while perhaps directed toward specific events, and representative of traditional women's work, are also important as they strengthen women's informal communication network.

Unlike the public washing places, which disappeared with the arrival of washing machines, church activities continue to pull women together. The woman's influence within the household and the church is still reflected in the perpetuation of these religious rituals. While the men might not regularly attend church, they receive baptism, take First Communion, receive Confirmation, marry, baptize their own children in the Church, and bury their kinfolk within the framework of Catholicism. So, the women, through their influence at home and in the church, have an important function in this playing out of the life process from baptism to burial.

Women's influence through involvement in the Church might be felt in another aspect of community life--voting. Günther Golde draws some correlations between religious affiliation and voting behavior.³² Elections in Germany have traditionally been held on Sunday. Catholic turnout at Sunday mass has usually been very strong in comparison to the Protestant turnout. Priests in earlier days used their pulpits to remind congregations to fulfill their civic duty and vote. So, at least in the area of Golde's study, churchgoers would stop by the polling location on their way home from church and cast their ballots. Golde offers a wider perspective:

³²Günther Golde, "Voting Patterns, Social Context, and Religious Affiliation in Southwest Germany," Comparative Studies in Society and History, 24 (1982), 25-55.

Traveling through the region, one does not observe many visual differences between the Catholic and Protestant villages and towns. The most conspicuous, of course, is the presence of crucifixes and shrines along the roadside in the Catholic communes or the religious processions that wind their way through the fields on certain days of the year. But a closer look will yield differences in various phases of social interaction that can be traced to the religious factor. Thus, religious orientation may exert a measurable influence on the rate of modernization, on attitudes toward reproduction, on the quantity and quality of communal face-to-face interaction, on the extent of cooperation, on attitudes toward formal education, and even on the number of involuntary bachelors that can be found in today's villages.³³

Since women in "Lothringen" are the link between Church and home, might they not through this link also exert a measure of influence on voting behavior, if not voting patterns? To the extent that women attend church more regularly than men, they would certainly return home and remind their husbands to cast their ballots. However, the village usually has close to 100% eligible voter turnout and election statistics do not support a preponderance of men or women voting. Additionally, the primary political parties, Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and Social Democratic Party (SPD), are fairly equally represented in the village and women participate in both organizations. So one cannot empirically single out any measure of influence women might have on voting behavior or patterns. However, two residents--one a member of the women's section of the CDU and the other of the SPD--said this:

Sometimes the family attends church, sometimes the mother and children. Yes, the priest often reminds us of our duty to vote. But he does not talk about politics. Certainly we have some influence over elections through our men. We talk at home. What we women say, our men often "pass off" as their own views.³⁴

³³Ibid.

³⁴Frau D, personal interview, 24 August 1987. Frau F, personal interview, 25 August 1987.

The husband of one of these women commented later on this remark, "Why shouldn't women have good ideas!"³⁵ Prudence suggested that the obvious follow-up question, "Did the men publicly credit their wives for these views," not be asked.

We have thus far looked at women's influence through the Church. What impact will diminished influence of the Church on community life have on women's ability to influence home and community? The feeling in "Lothringen" is that the influence of the church within the community has diminished--at least since World War II. Only 6.8% (4/58) of those questioned felt the influence of the church on the community has not decreased.³⁶ Both the older and the middle ages groups were split on whether church influence on the household was strong or weak. The majority of the young group (12/20) however, felt that church influence was weak. As this group ages and becomes the heart of the community, assuming their opinions do not change, women's participation in church activities might also decline. This would reduce women's influence within the community in what has historically been one of their principle means of meaningfully contributing to community life.

The Frauengemeinschaft, although not a vereine (clubs), functions as one of the informal links between household and community. Additionally, as of August 1987, 31 active clubs exist within the community.³⁷ Their activities range from choir to sports to politics. None of these clubs exclude women (or men) from membership but some are traditionally oriented toward one or

³⁵Herr F, personal interview, 25 August 1987.

³⁶See questionnaire at Appendix A.

³⁷Herr F, personal interview, 15 August 1987.

the other gender. Involvement in club activities is important from several perspectives. Women have been actively involved in club activity within the community going back to at least the 1920s.³⁸ In fact, one long-time observer of the community's history offered an explanation for this early activity. We had been discussing the phenomenon of the ebb and flow of "women's power" within the community. In response to a question on how the women reacted during the periods when the men returned to the community and resumed their "full-time" roles, Herr G explained that the women had started to join clubs during World War I and that these clubs "gave them an outlet." When the men returned to the village after World War I,

the women gladly gave up their temporary roles as leaders of the community. They had too much work and responsibility and were only too happy to share the burden with their menfolk.³⁹

Women did not retire into the private domain. They continued to participate in the clubs. Clubs continue to be active in community life. Both the number of clubs and participation verify this fact. My questionnaire indicated that of 58 people queried, 38 said they participated in club activities (20 men/18 women). Twelve individuals did not answer the questions; 8 said they did not participate. So even if the 12 "no answers" do not participate, 66% of those questioned do.

An informal but nevertheless strong link exists between the clubs and the village council. First, several of the club chairpersons are active members of a political party within the village. Second, clubs push their own interests through the village council, and the council encourages

³⁸Herr G, personal interview, 15 August 1987.

³⁹Ibid.

communication among the clubs. Community functions cannot succeed without club support. Third, kinslip networks are often important factors in club activities, linking family to club to village council.

Everyone interviewed pointed to the clubs as being an important integrating force within the community. One resident laughingly mentioned all the fests.

It seems that almost every Sunday we have a fest--SPD last Sunday, CDU next Sunday, Kermis in a few weeks, Oktoberfest. But the community comes together. Earlier we had too much work.⁴⁰

Another woman stated that the clubs were an important factor in maintaining harmony within the village.

The men are more visible by virtue of the fact that women are not interested in being in the forefront. So the men are the leaders. The women are active, participate and really do most of the work. The clubs are important to us. They bring us together.⁴¹

Lastly, the clubs provide women an active link between the private and public domain. Women share in club decision making and, through the club, in influencing village council actions within the community.

The women today have much influence--more than earlier. They are in the clubs and political parties. They are very active--organize projects for the underprivileged or the Third World. They are involved in politics through the meetings.⁴²

⁴⁰Frau B and Frau C, personal interview, 20 August 1987.

⁴¹Frau D, personal interview, 25 August 1987.

⁴²Frau H (mother-in-law), personal interview, 25 August 1987.

Three women are on the village council but the men think the women are good for the fests--coffee and cake. It is farther away before women are fully accepted.⁴³

Women's direct involvement in politics, in the public domain, is minimal. By politics, I mean election or selection into the village or community councils. While a few women are actively involved in party work, men continue to dominate in this area. The political arena is a focal point of formal power within the community. The absence of women from this activity indicates that the women lack formal power within the community. Why are women not formally active in politics?

The village council consists of 11 members, selected by the parties proportional to percentages received by each party in the elections, and by a group of "common interest." Neither men nor women are elected on a popular basis. Lists of candidates are drawn up by the party and then individuals selected. Criteria for selection are varied, and are not based on education or political experience.⁴⁴ My questionnaire indicated that business and/or economic contacts were the most valuable asset the village mayor could possess (23/30). As women do not have a lot of business or economic contacts, one could then expect to see a male mayor in the village. This has, in fact, been the case.

While the formal selection process would appear to favor men, how does the informal process--the indirect influence--work? Several interviewees mentioned the importance of family ties in determining who was selected to positions on the council. This is particularly true in villages like "Lothringen," with its fairly homogeneous population where families have

⁴³Frau F, personal interview, 25 August 1987.

⁴⁴Herr F, personal interview, 16 August 1987.

lived in this village for centuries and a fair amount of intermarrying has occurred. Having a large kinship network is therefore important. It is also fair to add that he (or she) who influences the network, influences selection of council members. Women traditionally have had the greatest influence in this area. Not only are they "home" in the village during the day, while their menfolks are at work, but through their roles in the household, through the organization of celebrations, and holidays, and through their work in the clubs, they provide the link that connects family to community. Frau F says,

The most important role for women in "Lothringen" is the housewife. Women keep the family together. Women are responsible for neighborhood relations, for the unity in the community. They bring the community together through the house.⁴⁵

For example, Kermis, the celebration of the village patron saint (St. Oranna), occurs in September and is perhaps the most important day in the village both in the home and the community. This is the one time in the year when everyone returns to the home. The mother arranges activities for the family at home. Community activities are also arranged and everyone meets old friends. Again, the women are often the impetus for these gatherings.⁴⁶ This coming together, working and planning for household and community activities continues to be a source of dynamic influence and informal power for the women. This must have some influence on who is selected for the town council. If you ask the men about this, they

⁴⁵Frau F, personal interview, 25 August 1987.

⁴⁶Frau B, personal interview, 20 August 1987.

usually dismiss this as trivial. Ask the women, and the response is the opposite.⁴⁷

Since the women can influence council selections through their kinship network and daily ties within the community, why are women not more actively involved in the formal political process? While the results of my questionnaire indicated an ambivalence to gender as a criterion for village mayor, my interviews indicated otherwise. As Frau D explained,

Women are not really interested in politics. The younger women are more interested in activities and clubs. The older women in the village disapprove of my activities in the SPD. They feel this is a man's work.⁴⁸

I asked Frau D what the men thought about women in politics. She told me about a friend on the village council.

A friend of mine agreed to have her name on the list for the village council with the expectation that she would never be selected. However, several men had to come off the list and she ended up being selected. It is a frustrating experience and she says she will not do this again. She feels that the men feel she does not belong on the council.⁴⁹

My interviews with women, including one who was earlier on the village council and is now on the community council, confirm Frau D's impression that women in the village generally disapprove of women being directly involved in politics.⁵⁰ My interviews also indicated that "older men" feel that politics is a man's domain. I did not have the opportunity to

⁴⁷Herr F and his wife, personal interview, 18 August 1987.

⁴⁸Frau D, personal interview, 25 August 1987.

⁴⁹Ibid.

⁵⁰Frau E, personal interview, 25 August 1987.

interview a sampling of men in the 20-40 age group, so I cannot really comment on their opinions. However, from my questionnaire responses, I would conclude that this age group is politically inactive within the village. Perhaps this is because family and career issues take a higher priority at this time. Or this may indicate a trend toward retrenchment into the private domain. I did, however, interview two men who were both in their mid-40s, and both on the village council. (Their wives, incidentally, felt that politics was a man's domain.) One of the men indicated on his questionnaire that the village mayor should be a man. The other did not answer this portion of the questionnaire. In their capacity as council members, both work closely with the one woman on the community council. Both spoke very highly of Frau E's capabilities. Both said she was effective on the council.⁵¹

Women also spoke highly of Frau E--stating that she did contribute, that she was effective. They described her as aggressive and pushy but said that these qualities were needed in order to be effective. I expected more criticism. There seemed to be a different dynamic in operation--Frau D's party activities were frowned on by the older women. Women in general were active in community activities but not politics. There was a consensus that politics was the man's domain. Yet Frau E's activities were accepted and praised. One resident offered an answer to the puzzle--Frau E was an outsider. Her family was not from the village, not even from the Saar.

She came from the Ruhrgebiet. She works hard in the party. Her husband was moved around the country several times and every time they moved she had to fight for her position. So perhaps now she is in the mood to use her elbows. Had she grown up in "Lothringen," it would perhaps be different.⁵²

⁵¹Major Hugo Zöllner, personal interview, 24 August 1987.

⁵²Frau F, personal interview, 25 August 1987.

Therefore her participation was not perceived to be a threat to the social status quo of "Lothringen."

Having at least a tentative explanation for acceptance of Frau E's political activities within the community, I was still curious about the gender roles in community politics. Why did the women not run for office? Though men officially had the power, the women agreed that men acquired it (at least partly) through the wielding of women's informal power by their manipulation of kinship networks and their more frequent face-to-face activities within the community. Women felt elected politics was a man's domain, yet they actively supported political functions. Male dominance within community life was not only acknowledged as a myth by the women, but perpetuated. Furthermore, acknowledging and perpetuating this myth did not imply loss of prestige or fewer rights, much less subservience. Absence of formal power did not seem to concern the women. What did concern them was maintaining harmony and continuity in the community. They recognized that maintaining the myth of male dominance achieved this. Harmony and continuity were therefore more important to them than formal power. And it was within their power to maintain this harmony. So what is power? Holding political office--or contributing to harmony and continuity in the village and household?

CHAPTER 4

THE MYTH IN CONTRAST

To test the presence of the myth or, in its absence, explain the dynamic of power relationships at work in "Lothringen," I have used Susan Carol Rogers' concept of the myth of male dominance. Rogers proposes that society would be patterned in this manner:

1. Women are primarily associated with the domestic.
2. Village life is domestic-oriented.
3. Face-to-face community interaction is important and informal power networks (e.g., kinship, clubs) are at least as significant as formal power networks (e.g., village council).
4. Men have greater access to jural and other formal rights.
5. Men are involved primarily in activities at least perceived to be important, e.g., primary breadwinner, priest, village mayor.
6. Men and women are equally dependent on each other economically, socially and politically.⁵³

Further, Rogers contends that this pattern describes a society that is not industrialized or modernized. If the society is industrializing and modernizing, the pattern changes, altering the peculiar balance of power characteristics within a village.

Rogers suggests three alternative patterns--ascendancy of women, male dominance, or equality.⁵⁴ In the first, face-to-face community

⁵³Summarized from Susan Carol Rogers, "Female Forms of Power and the Myth of Male Dominance: A Model of Female and Male Interaction in Peasant Society," American Ethnologist 2 (1975), 729-730.

⁵⁴Ibid., 750-753.

relationships are still important. Women begin to assume formal power roles within the community, presumably because men are drawn increasingly outside the community for employment. As men are drawn away from the community and because face-to-face relationships are still important, men become bystanders, and dependent on the women. Women now have access to formal power and are no longer dependent on men.

In the second pattern, the opposite occurs. As men are drawn outside of the village for employment, the social setting shifts away from the community and centers around the outside work community. Face-to-face community relationships lose their importance. Men retain their formal power positions within the community.

His activities are the "important" ones, but they are centered outside the community, where she has no means of influencing them. Her informal power is much less effective in the larger world, and her inferior formal rights become an accurate reflection of her actual position. Her commitment to the domestic sphere now means that, rather than being in a position of significant influence over the world beyond her home, she is largely isolated from any world but her home.

The meshing, and balanced, mutual interdependence of the male and female worlds, therefore, can no longer occur. Rather, both sexes operate in a male-dominated world. While men and women, as categories, remain dependent upon one another, women are relatively more dependent upon men. Male dominance no longer functions as a "myth."⁵⁵

In the third pattern, interdependence ceases to exist. Both "sex groups encroach on the domains of the other, insisting on sharing positions of power and prestige."⁵⁶ Active protest attempts to alleviate or alter unjust role differences by equalizing rights and access to resources. Women cease to nurture the face-to-face community bonds that have in the past

⁵⁵Ibid., 751.

⁵⁶Ibid., 752.

provided them informal power. They no longer need informal power networks. The myth of male dominance no longer exists as both sexes exercise formal power.

Rogers studies these patterns by comparing two French villages - "Ste Foy" and "Grand Frault." I will add a third dimension by comparing her findings with mine in "Lothringen." "Ste Foy" is located in southwestern France. The village is a dispersed community with scattered, isolated farm households outside the small, nucleated village center. The area is predominantly agricultural, thus the farm household represents the central social and economic unit. Family structure is hierarchical with two or three generations often living within a household. Although the Napoleonic Code established egalitarian inheritance, impartible inheritance continues to be the practice in "Ste Foy," with land being inherited by the eldest son.

The farm is the man's domain. The women merely play a supporting role. Upon marrying, the eldest son brings his wife back to his family's farm to live. His wife usually assumes a subordinate position to her mother-in-law until the farm is actually turned over to the son. Even if the young wife eventually assumes control within the domestic sphere, she will still play only a supporting role in the hierarchical, male-dominated society. Kinship networks are not strong primarily because of the dispersed settlement pattern, but also because the young wife comes to live with her husband's family and she does not have much influence within this network.

The man is the head of the household. Because the farm household is the central social and economic unit within the village, and because the man works the farm, he can exercise power and authority continuously. He does not need to leave this core; his wife is not left alone in the village

during the work day. She remains isolated on the farm taking care of the family needs and assisting, if necessary, around the farm. Further, the man, as owner of the farm, makes all the important contacts both within and outside the village.

In "Ste Foy," men are active in voluntary associations, women are not. Membership in these associations is perceived to be an important source of maintaining contacts necessary to establish or maintain a formal power base within the community. Because men "socialize" more within the village, they also tend to control the village "grapevine." Further, women's isolation on the farms does not encourage development of their own informal communication network to counter this situation.

Men participate actively in village politics. Women are not involved except as voters. Additionally, the dispersed settlement pattern reduces female solidarity. The candidate's own ability to draw votes, rather than the use of informal communication or kinship networks, influences election results. Because of the nature of the centralized political bureaucracy in France, membership on the village council carries little actual power outside the village. However, membership is seen as a revalidation of the village hierarchy. One's position is used to consolidate and maintain clientele within the community and to cultivate contacts outside it.

Local politics in "Ste Foy," like other domains of behavior, is organized around the definition and manipulation of social hierarchies. A gender-based hierarchy is layered into this pattern, with men generally monopolizing the ability to manage, as well as to act, in this sphere, both formally and informally. As in the realm of farm household structures, gender distinctions are drawn in "Ste Foy" such as to distance women from definitive centers of decision-making or control.⁵⁷

⁵⁷Susan Carol Rogers, "Gender in Southwestern France: The Myth of Male Dominance Revisited," Anthropology IX (1985), 82.

In contrast to "Ste Foy," "Grand Frault," located in northeastern France, on the western edge of the Lorraine, is a nucleated settlement. Although primarily agricultural, in recent years the lifestyle has shifted toward a worker community as more and more men leave the farms to work in industry, particularly steel. In accordance with the Napoleonic Code, inheritance patterns have remained egalitarian, with both husband and wife inheriting through their family line and bringing their inheritance into their marriage. The domestic sphere continues to be the core of village life, and, unlike the settlement in "Ste Foy," where the community is dispersed into farm households, the domestic sphere in "Grand Frault" remains closely linked to the community through face-to-face relationships.⁵⁸

In "Grand Frault," the woman is responsible for the domestic sphere, i.e., growing, buying and preparing food for the family, child-rearing, recordkeeping and budgeting, and nurturing the kinship network. At the time of Rogers' article (1985) no married women were employed outside the home. Informal groups -- kinship networks or neighbors -- serve as important sources of information as well as informal power bases from which to influence community activities. The closeness of houses within the village facilitates contacts between neighbors.⁵⁹

Men's work, whether the traditional farming or more recent industrial employment, pulls them outside the domestic sphere, and in some cases, the community as well. The man is still viewed as the head of household but he

⁵⁸Summarized from Susan Carol Rogers, "Female Forms of Power and the Myth of Male Dominance: A Model of Female and Male Interaction in Peasant Society," American Ethnologist 2 (1975), 729-730.

⁵⁹Ibid., 739.

is a "distant authority figure."⁶⁰ Men belong to "voluntary associations"⁶¹ although Rogers observes that this form of activity is neither frequent nor prevalent. In "Ste Foy," in contrast, membership in these organizations is an important source of maintaining contacts necessary to establish or maintain a formal power base within the community.⁶²

Men and women participate actively in "Grand Frault" politics. Men hold the formal positions on the council while women play an important role in influencing who is elected through manipulation of the kinship network. Little power is wielded by members of the council--the real benefit of holding a position is the prestige. Unlike "Ste Foy," where position and prestige are enhanced by outside contacts, and politics tends to be based on a hierarchical structure, outside contacts are detractors in "Grand Frault" politics.⁶³ Politics tends to represent the egalitarian nature of "Grand Frault" society and is more internalized within the community.

Local politics operates to mask or obviate social hierarchies. There, gender-based distinctions are no less clearly drawn, but are defined in a kind of checks-and-balances mode by which the power to manage, decide, and act within the community is distributed between the two groups.⁶⁴

Outside contacts are seen as an attempt to establish status, thus violating the egalitarian base of society.

⁶⁰Ibid.

⁶¹Ibid.

⁶²Susan Carol Rogers, "Gender in Southwestern France: The Myth of Male Dominance Revisited," Anthropology IX (1985), 80.

⁶³Ibid., 80-81.

⁶⁴Ibid., 82.

Rogers describes "Grand Fault" as a society that is not modernized or industrialized. The myth of male dominance exists and helps maintain balance within society. She sees "Grand Fault" at the brink of modernizing, and postulates that the first pattern--ascendancy of the women, will describe "Grand Fault" society. Men must increasingly leave the community for work in order to support the family. In their absence, women will assume more and more overt power within the community. Men will become merely residents within the community--powerless in their work environments and powerless within the community. The myth of male dominance will cease to exist.⁶⁵

The description of "Grand Fault" fairly well describes the situation in "Lothringen." However, some significant differences exist. First, some married women in the village are employed outside the home. Usually they have no children, have a grandparent available to take care of the children, or the children are older and no longer need supervision. Second, voluntary associations--clubs--are active in "Lothringen," for both men and women. Third, "Lothringen" made the transition from an agricultural to an industrial society early in the twentieth century. While Rogers concludes that "Grand Fault" cannot yet be considered fully modernized, "Lothringen" has been a modernized community since at least 1945, if not earlier. Yet the myth of male dominance aptly describes the distribution of power between the genders within society. Finally, unlike "Grand Fault," where positions on the village council carry only prestige, membership on the village council in "Lothringen" carries some authority and power, both within the

⁶⁵Summarized from Susan Carol Rogers, "Female Forms of Power and the Myth of Male Dominance: A Model of Female and Male Interaction in Peasant Society," *American Ethnologist* 2 (1975), 750-751.

community and potentially outside the community through political party contacts.

Despite the many similarities between the two villages, it seems unlikely that "Lothringen" is going in any of the three directions proposed by Rogers. The first pattern--ascendancy of the women--has not occurred. For almost a century both domestic-centeredness of the household/community and industrialization have existed side-by-side. Gender roles adjusted to this reality. The role of women within the community altered to fit the needs of the period.

The second or third patterns--male dominance or equality--could occur only if the attitudes of the residents within the community were to change, or the community mix were to change. Maintenance of the community life is a very strong sentiment within all segments of the "older" community. Suggestions about "Lothringen" being a "bedroom community" of Saarlouis (or any other city) are rejected outright. Members of the community actively promote events to strengthen a sense of community togetherness. All women interviewed felt it was particularly within their realm to ensure the success of activities designed to identify "Lothringen" as a community in its own right and not just an extension of the nearby urban community. I saw an active effort within the community to preserve the "old order." Both genders believe strongly in preserving the individual community identity. Both feel all members of the community need to contribute. Yet the majority of the responsibility for the day-to-day work and organization is left to the women within the community--as has been the case historically. The social arena has not shifted drastically beyond the face-to-face community even with men working outside the community in the urban beyond. Men's non-work activities are not centered outside the community. While the woman's

role continues to be domestic-centered, she has access to the world outside her home and community. She is not cut off from social interaction as that interaction continues to be preeminently community-oriented.

Several factors could alter this situation in the near future--(1) a large influx of "outsiders" into the community and, or (2) disinclination of the younger generations to accept the "old order" or (3) their unwillingness to remain in the small community. Any of these trends could alter the balance of power within the community. My research was not in-depth enough to perceive trends in any of these directions.

The following might, however, be suggested. Location on a hill will limit growth of the village. So, unless the older families die or move, the community mix will not alter significantly in the near future. Further, the older families sense that the "newcomers" do not actively contribute to community life, that they seek activities and groups outside of the "Lothringen" community. Obviously, if this trend continues, and the newcomers outnumber the oldtimers, or the oldtimers mimic this trend, community life in its present form will change.

Predicting what the younger generation might do is at best tricky. I did not have time to focus on this aspect of the issue, but in two or three conversations with groups of young folks (between 16-19 years), questions were raised about their perceptions of family and community life; about their relationship to their government, about their sense of being able to influence national and/or international events, and their attitudes about gender roles. Specifically, these points were noted:

- a. Both genders express concern for the conflict between the desire to work yet the feeling that "mothers should be with their children."
- b. Community life is important. Even if one leaves for awhile, one can come back.
- c. Most would prefer to stay at least in the Saar, if economics would support them.
- d. Both genders are frustrated with international events. Some felt the pull of a European identity as being the wave of the future; most identified solidly with West Germany. Some wish actively to influence political events, others shrug their shoulders in frustration or indifference.

Although information gathered from my questionnaire is from too small a group to get good statistical information, some trends were indicated. Responses to a request to describe West Germany today as either "machtpolitisch or kulturpolitisch," were as follows. In the young group, only 55% answered the question and 6 of these described West Germany as machtpolitisch. In the middle group, 91% (21/23) answered. 76% (16/21) described West Germany as kulturpolitisch; 24% (5/21) as machtpolitisch. In the older group, 47% (7/15) answered. All seven described West Germany as kulturpolitisch.

No matter how far afield from the issue of gender roles this point might seem, if the results of the younger group point toward a trend in viewing Germany as "power political," one might expect, in light of historical experience and recent protest movements, either a retrenchment into the household/community, ignoring the public domain in favor of the private, or a lessening of household and community involvement in favor of

national and international interests, in an effort to counter a move toward power politics.

My sense is that the responses to the four issues cited above will to a large extent also answer questions relating to gender roles within the household and community in ensuing generations. I would predict that either the present situation, described by the myth of male dominance, will continue or the third pattern, equality, will prevail in which gender roles are obliterated so that gender-based power relationships no longer matter.

Rogers' studies suggest that socio-cultural differences often outweigh political or national homogeneity in accounting for different typologies of gender systems within political/historical units. "French" is not a distinctive adjective describing village life in France any more than "German" or "authoritarian" would describe village life in Germany. Her comparative observations between a southwestern and a northeastern French village illustrate this point. Rogers finds a male dominant gender structure in "Ste Foy," but a more egalitarian structure masked by a myth of male dominance in "Grand Frault." "Lothringen" fits the latter rather than the former pattern. Despite the different conclusions drawn about future gender system typologies, the two villages exhibit basic similarities in socio/cultural structure. Perhaps these similarities--the dominance of the domestic sphere, the importance of face-to-face relationships, the balance between informal and formal power and the egalitarian society masked by a myth of male dominance, outweigh the different political histories and organizations, confirming Rogers' supposition that culture areas rather than political boundaries "might prove to be a useful basis" for gender systems research. And, perhaps the implications of our different conclusions on future gender systems are based in the differing French and German political

histories and organizations. The degree of interface between village and larger community or the invasion into village life by the government could certainly alter relationships within the village by forcing equality or the opposite--entrenching male dominance. Either way, the myth dies; perhaps the village dies with it. "Grand Frault" and "Lothringen" become "bedroom communities" or ghost towns.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

"Kirche, Küche und Kinder" is a narrow concept as it only considers formal, public power as meaningful in village life, neglecting the importance of informal power mechanisms. Likewise, the concept ignores the role of women within the community as women have traditionally avoided formal power. Instead, women control through informal power derived from manipulation of kinship networks, face-to-face community relationships, daily contact within the village and their position within house and church. Therefore, any meaningful discussion about women's roles within the village must also include community.

"Kirche, Küche und Kinder," wrapped up in the myth of male dominance produces in reality a relatively egalitarian society. Women in "Lothringen" are quite happy with this. Most realize that "Kirche, Küche und Kinder" is a myth, that women play a critical role in village life. The myth of male dominance creates harmony by balancing informal and formal power relationships within the village. Survival of village life depends on this balance and harmony.

Will these values change? Comparison of like culture areas might provide some insight into not only whether values change but also how gender relationships within the village change. Development of gender system relationships in "Lothringen" might suggest a future dynamic for "Grand Frault." Both are nucleated settlements. The domestic sphere is predominant. Face-to-face relationships describe daily interaction within the village. Residents are overwhelmingly Catholic; the Church continues to

play an important role in the life process. Egalitarian inheritance patterns have resulted in reducing individual landholding, thus reducing agricultural productivity, forcing the menfolk to leave the fields, seeking employment in industry. Women continue to control informal power networks but also shun the formal power mechanisms. "Lothringen" adapted to this change earlier in the twentieth century. "Grand Frault" is making the transition now. Despite the political boundary separating the two villages and despite the different observations on the formal political process within the villages, I would expect "Grand Frault's" development to parallel development in "Lothringen." Acknowledged or not, the myth of male dominance provides the harmony and continuity valued by the women in the village. Women have always been the protectors of these values. I do not expect to see this change in the near future.

APPENDIX A

BERUS FRAGEBOGEN

Diese Nachforschung befaßt sich mit dem Familienleben und der Gemeinde; so wie mit der Gemeinde und dem Bundesstaat.

Ein Dorf im Saarland wurde deshalb ausgesucht, weil das historische Verhältnis mit dem Französischen sehr interessant erscheint, und dieses Dorf liegt in der Nähe der französischen Grenze.

PERSONALIEN

1. Geb. am: in:
2. Geschlecht: Mann Frau Fraulein
3. Wie lange wohnen Sie schon in Berus?

Wie lange wohnen Sie schon im Saarland?
Wenn Sie irgendwo anders als in Berus gewohnt haben, wo?
4. Muttersprache: Deutsch? Französisch?
Sprachkenntnisse?
5. Religion: Katholisch? Evangelisch?
Andere?
6. Familienstand: Ledig? Verheiratet?
Geschieden? Verwitwet?
7. Wo wohnen Ihre Eltern?
8. Wieviel Kinder haben Sie?
Wohnen die Kinder noch bei Ihnen?
9. Zu welcher Partei gehören Sie?
10. Schulbildung in Saarland? Oder wo?
11. Beruf?
12. Aktivitäten außerhalb des Berufes/Haushalts:

Klubs

Kirche

Sport

Gewerkschaft

Partei

Voluntärarbeit oder andere?

GESELLSCHAFT/KULTUR

1. Wer hat Ihnen, als Sie klein waren, Geschichten vorgelesen? Ihr Vater, Ihre Mutter, Großmutter, Großvater, Schwester, Bruder, oder?
2. Wie hieß Ihr Lieblingsmärchen?
3. Welches war Ihr Lieblingsspiel?
4. Ihr liebster Feiertag?

Wer organisiert normalerweise die Feiertage?
Ihr Vater, Ihre Mutter, die Großeltern,
oder wer?

5. Welchen Einfluß hat Ihre Kirche auf die Gemeinde?

und auf Ihren Haushalt?

Schwachen, Starken, oder gar keinen Einfluß?

Ihrer Meinung nach, hat sich dieser Einfluß
seit dem zweiten Weltkrieg, verstärkt oder
vermindert?

6. Statussymbol im 19. Jahrhundert wurde oft durch Landbesitz bestimmt. Hat sich diese Einstellung im 20. Jahrhundert verändert?
Ja? Nein?

Wenn ja, wie - durch Ausbildung, Geld,
Besitz, oder sonstiges?

FAMILIE/GEMEINDE

1. Verdienen Sie beide? Ja? Nein?

Wer verwaltet das Geld? Frau Mann Beide

2. Können Frauen ohne Schwierigkeiten Kredit bekommen?

Wenn ja, ungefähr seit wann? 1950 früher
später

Können Sie eine Anstellung mit gleicher
Bezahlung wie Männer erhalten? Ja Nein
das kommt darauf an:

3. Einteilung der Hausarbeit: normalerweise wer macht was (Mann = M; Frau = F; Beide = B)

Gartenarbeit
Kochen
Rechnungen bezahlen
Waschen (Kleider, etc.)
Putzen (Haus, etc.)
Reparaturen (Haushalt, Auto. etc.)
Kinderbetreuung

4. Haben Sie Einfluß auf die Verwendung des verdienten Geldes?

POLITIK

1. Wie wurden Sie Ihre Nationalidentität aufgrund Ihrer Vererbung und Herkommens begutachten?
2. Kann eine Frau in eine politische Partei aufgenommen werden und kann sie auch z.B. zur Bürgermeisterin gewählt werden??
3. Falls Sie wählen durften, wie haben Sie sich 1957 über das Saar-Problem entschieden?

- a. deutsche Integration
b. französische Integration
c. Bildung eines neuen separaten Staates, wie in z.B. Luxemburg?

Was war der Hauptgrund?

- a. politisch
b. ökonomisch
c. historisch
d. oder sonstiges: z.B. Familiengründe

Wurden Sie heute genau so wählen? Ja Nein

4. Was hatten Sie gerne vom französischen System übernommen?
5. Wie wurden Sie sich einstufen? als . . .
- a. Europäer
b. Bundesdeutscher
c. Franzose
d. Deutscher
e. Elsaß-Lothringer
f. Saarländer
g. oder als was?

6. Sollte es Frauen auch erlaubt sein, in die Bundeswehr aufgenommen zu werden? Ja Nein
Wenn nein, warum?

Wenn ja, unter welchen Bedingungen?

7. Wer ist, Ihrer Meinung nach, die einflußreichste Person in Ihrer Gemeinde?

Welche Voraussetzung sollte diese Person mitbringen um eine Position in Ihrer Gemeinde auszuführen? z.B:

- a. Reichtum
- b. Geschäfts-oder ökonomische Kontakte
- c. Landbesitz
- d. Universitätsausbildung haben
- e. Geschlecht: männlich oder weiblich
- f. Nationalität: ist das wichtig? Ja Nein

Welche Voraussetzung ist nicht wichtig?

8. Wie wurden Sie -die heutige Bundesrepublik Deutschland beschreiben - kulturpolitisch oder machtpolitisch?

Wie wurden Sie - das heutige Frankreich beschreiben - kulturpolitisch oder machtpolitisch?

9. Welche historischen Ereignisse verbinden Sie mit nachfolgenden Daten?

- a. 1935
- b. 1940
- c. 1945
- d. 1957
- e. Und andere Daten?

BESONDERE BEMERKUNGEN:

Bitte unterschreiben Sie noch die beiliegende Erlaubnisgenehmigung falls ich Ihre obigen Angaben in meiner Nachforschung benutzen möchte.

Vielen Dank für Ihre Mithilfe.

APPENDIX B

SELECTIVE ANALYSIS OF QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Population

	<u>1961</u>	<u>1974</u>	<u>1987</u>
Men	948	1032	1089
Women	968	1011	1068
Total	1916	2043	2157
No. of households	568	640	765

2. Questionnaire Grouping

<u>Group</u>	<u>Birthdates</u>	<u>No. Men</u>	<u>No. Women</u>	<u>Total</u>
I	1907-1933	6	9	15
II	1934-1953	10	13	23
III	1954-1974	11	10	21

3. Residence

	<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>
Born/live in village	10	13	10
Outside village but in Saar	5	6	9
In Germany	0	3	2
Elsewhere	0	1	0

4. Religion

Catholic	15	23	20
Evangelisch	0	0	1

5. Native Language, German

Additional languages, French	10	14	21
English		6	14

6. Profession

Manufacturing/Industry	6	7	5
Housewife	8	7	1
Professional		6	2
Students		1	10

7. National Identity

German	6	12	9
Saarlander	6	4	6
European	2	7	3
No answer	1	0	3

8. Most influential person in village

Mayor	4	9	6
Priest	2	3	2
Teacher	0	1	
No answer	9	10	13

	<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>
9. Germany since World War I			
Machtpolitical	0	5	6
Kulturpolitical	7	16	5
No answer	8	2	9*
10. Should women be allowed to join Bundeswehr?			
Yes, without restriction	2	5	5
Yes, with restriction	7	15	10
No	3	3	3
No answer	3	0	3
11. Member of voluntary associations?			
Yes	8	16	16
No answer	5	3	5
12. Who manages budget?			
Men	0	0	0
Women	3	10	4
Both	10	11	3
No answer	2	2	9**
13. Who pays the bills?			
Men	1	0	1
Women	8	15	10
Both	5	5	1
No answer	1	3	9**
14. Why did the Saar integrate into Germany in 1955?			***
Historical	8	4	
Economic	0	2	
Political	1	1	
No answer	6	14***	

*1 - both

**9 - students

***10 - too young to vote

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEWS

1. Family F--all from "Lothringen"
Herr F, age 44, village mayor
Frau F, age 37
Herr F's mother, Frau H, age 72
Herr F's aunt, age 74
2. Frau A, age 65, housewife, from "Lothringen"
3. Frau D, age 42, housewife, from "Lothringen" leader of Katholik Frauengemeinvschaft and SPD
4. Frau E, age 43, housewife, from "Ruhr," member of Überherrn Gemeinderat
5. Herr G, age 76, from "Lothringen", retired stoneworker, former NSDAD member
6. Herr & Frau B, ages 62 and 57, retired, both from "Lothringen"
7. Frau C, age 54, sister of Frau Schmidt; housewife, from "Lothringen"
8. Herr J, age 42, Bundeswehr, from Saarlouis

APPENDIX D

RENE KÖNIG'S STUDY: KÖLN, 1954-55

The objective of the study (questionnaire and interviews) was to evaluate responses on leisure activities and family structure by constructing an attitude scale ranging from complete domination by men to complete domination by women. The statistics for König's study were gathered from answers to the following inquiries which were designed to elicit responses based on behavior, not opinion.

1. Who manages everyday expenses?
2. Who has control over large investments?
3. Who determines leisure time activities?
4. Who makes decisions regarding child-rearing?
5. Was there a two-way discussion about the housewife's experiences throughout the day?
6. Did the couple go out together, i.e., to dinner or for walks?
7. Did both have to hold the same opinion?
8. Who ought to have the last word in family affairs?

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